

Message Text

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ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 NSCE-00 PM-04 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15

CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 L-03 OMB-01 /047 W

----- 091386

P 100610Z JUL 76

FM AMEMBASSY MANILA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7259

INFO SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

JCS PRIORITY

CINCPAC PRIORITY

CINCPACAF PRIORITY

CINCPACREPPHIL SUBIC PRIORITY

CINCPACFLT PRIORITY

CG 13TH AF CLARK AB RP

S E C R E T MANILA 10026

CINCPAC ALSO FOR POLAD

FROM USDEL 107

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MARR, RP

SUBJECT: PHILIPPINE BASE NEGOTIATIONS: ASSESSMENT - FOURTH WEEK

1. AT THE END OF OUR FOURTH WEEK OF NEGOTIATIONS ON THE SUBJECT OF MILITARY BASES IN THE PHILIPPINES, I WISH TO SUBMIT MY GENERAL ASSESSMENT OF WHERE I THINK WE ARE AND WHERE I THINK WE ARE GOING. BEFORE DOING SO, I WISH TO RESTATE THE PREMISES ON WHICH WE ARE ACTING, BOTH IN THE U.S. AND THE PHILIPPIN PANELS. THESE PREMISES DERIVE FROM MEETINGS AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL IN WASHINGTON AND CONSTITUTE OUR INSTRUCTIONS, WHICH HAVE BEEN UNCHANGED UP TO THE CURRENT TIME.

2. WE ARE ACTING ON THE PREMISE THAT WE SHOULD CONCLUDE AN AGREEMENT WHICH, ALONG WITH THE GREEK AND TURKISH AGREEMENTS, WILL BE PLACED BEFORE THE U.S. CONGRESS IN
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SEPTEMBER OF THIS YEAR. IN ORDER TO MEET THAT DEADLINE,

WE ARE ATTEMPTING TO FINISH WORK ON THIS AGREEMENT AT THE END OF JULY. THIS DATE IS DESIGNED TO PERMIT ITS INITIALLING, OR POSSIBLE SIGNATURE BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE, IN A VISIT WHICH HE HAS TOLD THE FILIPINOS HE HOPES TO MAKE TO MANILA IN EARLY AUGUST. (I HAVE SCRUPULOUSLY REFRAINED FROM RECONFIRMING THE PROSPECT OF THAT VISIT. AT THE SAME TIME, I HAVE NOT RPT NOT SUGGESTED THAT IT WILL NOT RPT NOT TAKE PLACE AND THE FILIPINOS ARE CLEARLY ACTING ON THE PRESUMPTION THAT IT WILL.)

3. FOR THIS PURPOSE, WE AND THE PHILIPPINE PANEL HAVE REACHED GENERAL CONSENSUS ON A SCHEDULE OF WORK DESIGNED TO MEET THE DEADLINES WHICH WERE FIXED IN WASHINGTON. OUR PROGRESS TOWARDS FULFILMENT OF THIS SCHEDULE IS SPOTTY, AND IT IS CLEAR THAT, UNLESS THE FILIPINOS MAKE MAJOR CONCESSIONS FROM THEIR DRAFT, IT WILL PROVE IMPOSSIBLE TO REACH AN AGREEMENT IN THAT TIME FRAME.

4. IT IS MY GENERAL ASSESSMENT THATPHILS, AT THEIR HIGHEST LEVELS, WOULD BE PREPARED TO CALL OFFTHEIR EXCESSIVE "SOVEREIGNTY" DEMANDS IF THERE IS A GOOD "QUID" IN THE FORM OF "DEFENSE SUPPORT" AND IF WE MAKE A DECENT EFFORT TO GIVE THEM THE ESENTIAL ATTRIBUTES AND APPURTENANCES OF SOVEREIGNTY. SUCH MODIFICATIONS TO OUR CURRENT FREEDOM OF ACTION WILL INTRODUCE INCONVENIENCES TO OUR FUNCTIONS HERE BUT WILL NOT HINDER OR HAMPER OUR EFFECTIVE OPERATIONS. I STRESS "AT THEIR HIGHEST LEVELS" BECAUSE THERE ARE STILL ZEALOTS ON THE NEGOTIATING PANEL WHO INSIST ON THESE MATTERS IN DETAIL.

5. THEREFORE, I PLACE HIGHEST PRIORITY ON THE NEED FOR RAPID WASHINGTON AUTHORIZATION FOR A FIGURE TO BE TABLED IN THE "QUID" NEGOTIATION. USDEL HAS SENT ITS RECOMMENDATION SEPTEL. I PLACE SIMILAR PRIORITY ON THE NEEDFOR RAPID AND RESPONSIVE REPLIES TO OUR OPERATIONAL CABLES, WHICH ARE DESIGNED TO TEASE ALONG CONCESSIONS FROM FILIPINOS ON A VARIETY OF MEASURES, MOSTLY IN THE SOVEREIGNTY SPHERE.

6. IF WE CAN OBTAIN THIS TYPE OF WASHINGTON COOPERATION,
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I FEEL IT IS STILL POSSIBLE THAT WE CAN ACHIEVE AN AGREEMENT IN THE TIME FRAME THAT HAS BEEN ALLOTTED TO US. I DOUBT WE CAN HAVE EVERYTHING TIDILY IN PLACE FOR THE SECRETARY'S SIGNATURE IN HIS PUTATIVE EARLY AUGUST VISIT. HOWEVER, WE SHOULD BE ABLE TO GET THINGS CLOSELY ENOUGH TOGETHER SO THAT WE HAVE ONLY A FEW CLEARLY DEFINED DIFFERENCES OUTSTANDING, WHICH HE SHOULD BE ABLE TO MARSHALL INTO PLACE (PROBABLY DEALING DIRECTLY WITH MARCOS) THROUGH

THE LITERAL APPLICATION OF QUID PRO QUO.

7. IN MY JUDGMENT, THE FILIPINOS WILL PROBABLY BE PREPARED TO CLOSE THE GAP SLIGHTLY BY SOME CONCESSIONS OVER THE PERIOD OF THE NEXT WEEK PROVIDED WE CAN TABLE SOME OF THE DRAFTS THAT ARE AWAITING WASHINGTON APPROVAL. BUT I BELIEVE THEY WILL THEN DIG IN AND WAIT TO SEE THE COLOR OF OUR MONEY. CONSEQUENTLY, I REITERATE OUR NEED FOR URGENT ACTION ON THAT FRONT.
SULLIVAN

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: MILITARY BASE AGREEMENTS, NEGOTIATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 10 JUL 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: BoyleJA
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976MANILA10026
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760266-0746
From: MANILA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760771/aaaackev.tel
Line Count: 125
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EA
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: BoyleJA
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 03 JUN 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <03 JUN 2004 by CunninFX>; APPROVED <27 SEP 2004 by BoyleJA>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PHILIPPINE BASE NEGOTIATIONS: ASSESSMENT - FOURTH WEEK
TAGS: MARR, RP, US
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006